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SABIN & SONS' AMERICAN BIBLIOPOLIST.

A Literary Register and Monthly Catalogue of Old and New
Books, and Repository of Notes and Queries.

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BACK NUMBERS.—The BIBLIOPOLIST, for 1870, bound in cloth, with title-page and index, will be supplied for \$1.75; unbound, for \$1.25. The Volume for 1869, complete, is now scarce. It will be supplied, lacking No. 4, for \$1.25. The publishers will give 25 cents for No. 4, 1869, if received in good order.

REMIT FOR 1871.—*Subscribers who desire a continuance of the BIBLIOPOLIST will kindly favor us by remitting one dollar.*

ABIN &

We frequently hear complaints regarding the non-receipt of numbers which we have regularly mailed. So far as we can, we shall be happy to assist subscribers, wishing to complete their sets, who through carelessness of ours or of the post office officials have not received all their numbers.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The editors will be glad to receive and publish items literary or historical, of interest to the readers of Notes and Queries. Everything of value to the American Antiquary will meet with especial welcome.

MR. BOLTON CORNEY'S
LIBRARY.

The sale of the library of the late Mr. Bolton Corney was concluded last June, at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. One of the chief features was the collection of early voyages and works relating to America, all of which excited much competition and brought very high prices, as will be seen from the following quotations: (218) Basanier *Histoire Notable de la Floride*, 1586, 36*l.*; (260) Belleforest, *Histoire Universelle du Monde*, 1570, 22*l.*; (647) Casas, *Spanish Colonie*, 1583, 22*l.* 15*s.*; (654) Castell's *Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America*, 1644, 19*l.*; (710) Champlain, *Voyages en la Nouvelle France*, 1627, 35*l.* 10*s.*; (813) The celebrated Letter of Columbus, being the first printed document known relating to America, consisting of four leaves, 1493, 116*l.*; (814) *Historie del Fernando Colombo*, 1571, 16*l.* 16*s.*; (1165) Eden's *History of Travayle, in the West and East Indies*, 1577, 17*l.* 15*s.*; (1191) Enciso, *Suma de Geographie que trata de todas las Partidas del Mundo*, the first book printed in Spanish relating to America, 519, 66*l.*; (1204) Erondel e, *Nova Francia*, 1609, 37*l.*; (1205) Escobar, *Romancero del Cavallero el Cid*, 1612, 45*l.*; (1342) Frobisher, *True Discourse of the late Voyages of Discoverie*, 1578, 67*l.*; (1412) Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie for a Voyage to Cataia*, 1576, 46*l.*; (1407) *New Passages Scacchiæ Ludus*, translated by Dr. Goldsmith, and in his autograph, 38*l.*; (1796) James, *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, 33*l.* 10*s.*; (1948) Les-carbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 1609, 27*l.*; (2140) Martyris Anglerii *Opus Epistolarum*, 530, 49*l.*; (2164) Maximiliani Transylvani *Cæsaris a Secretis Epistola*, 32*l.* 10*s.*; (2165) De Moluccis *Insulas*, by the same, 22*l.*; (2172) Medina *Arte de Navegar*, 1545, 16*l.* 5*s.*;

(2400) Nuñez, *La Relacion del Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, 1555, 39*l.* 10*s.*; (2438) Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 1547, 29*l.* 10*s.*; (2623) Il Portolano, 1490, 34*l.* 10*s.*; (2741) Resende, *Livro das Obras de Portugal*, 1554, 16*l.* 5*s.*; (2904) Schouten's *Relation of a Wonderful Voiage*, 1619, 22*l.*; (3029) Smith's *Description of New England*, 1616, 35*l.*; (3329) Varthema, *Itinerario*, 1518, 30*l.*; (3355) Vesputius (Americus), *Paesi Nouamente Retrouati, et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio*, 1507, 157*l.* The total amount realized was 3,539*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

"A lost work of Chaucer's, unknown to any of his editors or biographers, is mentioned in the prologue to his 'Legende of Good Women,' in the MS. Gg. 4, 27, in the University Library, Cambridge, namely, a prose translation

'of the wrechede engendrynge of mankynde, As man may in Pope Innocent ifynde.'

The prologue in this MS. has some most interesting variations from the other MSS., including the statement that Chaucer has sixty 'bokys olde and newe,' full of stories from Latin and Greek authors about the lives of women. We hope in a week or two to give an account of the differences between this Gg. manuscript and the other texts of the poem. This text of the prologue was printed by Mr. H. Bradshaw for private circulation, on the 30th of June, 1864, and is to be reprinted from the manuscript next month."

ALLAN RAMSAY'S "Tea-Table Miscellany, a Collection of Choice Songs, Scots and English," has been reprinted from the fourteenth edition, in two handsome little volumes, on toned paper, for a Glasgow publisher, Mr. John Crum.

MR. HENRY CRABB ROBINSON'S "Diary" will shortly be published in Dresden, in a German version, from the pen of Herr K. Eitner, under the title of "Recollections of Germany from 1804 to 1864."

RICHMOND, VA., June 21, 1871.

Editor BIBLIOPOLIST:

Rummaging the other day among some old papers and pamphlets in a junk shop, my eye struck on a small quarto of MS., upon the reverse cover of which I read these interesting words:

"Memorandum of things delivered to the different Plantations from the 12th of Ap^l 1786."

Turning over the leaves, which are still well preserved, I found frequent allusions to the household of General Washington, as well as to the General himself. I soon became aware that this MS. must be the work of one of the overseers at Mount Vernon—one "I. Fairfax." It appears to be a barren record or report of what was going on in the "different plantations" under his supervision. As a specimen of its style I transcribe the following report:

"Shoemaker, Dec^r 23^d.

"Making Mast^r Custis p^r Shoes 2/6—mend^e the Gen^l Boots 1/—for soaling & vamp^e pr Shoes for Dutch woman 1/6^d—Soal^e, mend^e Dcct^r Jarrays Bridle 1/—mak^e pr Shoes for Davy—soal^e & vamp^e Charlie's Shoes at Muddy hole 1/—1 p^r made for Breechy 2/—soeing welt^e & pieci^e Rich^d Shoes 1/6—soal^e peter hardeman's shoes & welt^e 1/—soeing Mr. W—m Cha^r Shoes soals 1/."

These reports, which appear weekly, begin Nov. 18th, 1786, and end April 28th, 1787. They take up sixty closely written pages, and embrace the "different plantations," as River Plantation, Dogue Run, Muddy Hole, Ferry Plantation, Creek Farm, French's Quarters, French's Plantation, as well as the accounts of Shoemaker, Ditcher, Miller, Ferry, Carpenter, Taylor, Isaac, &c.

There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of these memoranda, as they were found in company with pamphlets once owned by Bushrod Washington and Rev. Mr. Muir, a chaplain who officiated at the Washington obsequies at Mount Vernon. Whether they be of value to the historian will be for others to determine who are more familiar with the Washington publications than I.

I avail myself of your columns in order that this advertisement of their discovery may attract the attention of the lovers of Washingtoniana.

C. M. W.

I have in my possession a small 8vo volume printed in 1587, containing a Latin treatise on hawking, in hexameter verse, in three books, pp. 107, including title page, dedication (1 p.) and notes (1 p.) The title is as follows:

HIERACOSOPHIOT
SIVE
DE RE ACCIPITRARIA
LIBRI III.
LVTETIÆ,

Apud Mamertum Patissonium Typographum
Regium: In officina Roberti Stephani.

M.D.LXXXVII.

On this page is a vignette representing a tree with branches, leaves and fruit. Some fallen branches lie scattered on the ground, and some are falling from the tree. Under the tree stands a barefooted and bareheaded sage, looking upward at the tree, and pointing in the same direction with his right hand, while with his left arm he holds up the gathered folds of his flowing drapery. Over his head, entwined among the branches, is a scroll, bearing the inscription, "*noli altum sapere.*"

The dedication on the following page is in ten lines of verse, and is addressed "*AD SCEV. SAMMARTHANUM.*"

In the same volume are two other poems, the one entitled:

AD AMPLISS. V.
PHILLIPPUM HVRLTVM
Ceurnium Franciæ
Cancellarium,
SOMNIUM.

comprising 11 pages; the other is entitled:

IN MORTE ALOISII
ATESTINI S. R. E. CARD.
AD
ILLUSTRISS HEROINAM
ANNAM ATESTINAM. N. D.

and comprises 7 pages.

Will any reader of *Notes and Queries* be kind enough to inform me who the author of these poems was?

G. L. H.

GREENVILLE, Ala.

Junius—There is a letter in the Middle Hill library which is said to be by Junius, which once belonged to Sir George Jackson of the Admiralty. It is a violent tirade against an admiral or general during the American War of Independence, and has never been printed.

P.

THE ANTIQUARY.

(From the *Mossbire Stone*.)

At the present time there are too many vague views abroad in regard to what constitutes the antiquary and his vocation. First of all, there is the notion that the antiquary is a man of the past. But if the remark already made be true, this view should be dismissed. Indeed, we do wrong when we consider the antiquary as one wrapped up exclusively in the past, and regard him as one out of sympathy with the present and hopeless of the future. The true antiquary is no musty, retired individual, backward in his notions, narrow in his aims, prone to magnify trifles and hoard his possessions, and view all recent times as out of joint. Yet, it is to be regretted this false conception is embodied in literature, while, worst of all, it is often justified by living examples. Too few of our antiquaries ever feel like Arnold of Rugby, who, when he saw the first railroad train rushing down on its way from the metropolis, thanked God that the feudal age was past. And this is why we have the narrow statement of Webster, the prince of definers, to the effect that an antiquary is "one versed in antiquity;" and hence the sarcasm of Pope, who says:

"With sharpened sight pale antiquaries pore,
The inscription value, but the rust adore;"

while Walter Scott insinuates that the antiquary is a dolt.

But, as far as possible, the past should be made a thing for present and prospective use. While we admire the *setting sun*, our heart and hopes should be with the *coming day*. If we go backward, it should be for the purposes of an advance. The past is not dead, and the ages that are gone should be laid under living contribution for our own day. The past cannot die. Often when an age is dismissed from the calendar it then begins, for the first time, to live, and to be powerfully felt. It is, therefore, the business of the antiquary to study the past for the benefit of all succeeding times. He must deal not alone with its rust, but with its reasons, with whatsoever is good and true, and useful to living men. His studies should be made to minister to human hopes, to dispel the mysteries of the present, the key of which is buried in the mouldy past, and thus do all in his power

to save the world from errors and superstitions which, even now in the nineteenth century, linger amid its light like belated ghosts not yet dismissed to their congenial shades. In a word, the antiquary who does nothing for his own times is unworthy of the profession and the name.

The antiquary should also be known by his broad, comprehensive and liberal spirit. While a man, not of one, but of every age, he should be a citizen of every country, ignoring the provincial spirit that seeks to shed exclusive glory around some favored spot—a spirit that is often the abettor of falsehood and the foster-father of fraud. He should be a man of the world, in the highest and noblest sense. *Sic vos non vobis* is the motto his banner should bear, while he goes onward in his investigations, jealous of no man's well-earned and consequently well-deserved fame, open to the truth as the day to the light, and in sympathy with the progress of mankind.

AUCTION SALES

American auctions during the past winter and spring have not been distinguished by any sales of special moment. The immense stock of the late Mr. William Gowans did not include any book of special value; and the only item which sold at a large price was an obscure book called the "Magazine of Magazines," which sold for \$40, its real value being about as many cents.

The finest collection was that belonging to Mr. H. B. Humphrey, which was sold by Messrs Leonard & Co., auctioneers, at Boston, on May 9th, and following days. It was an enormous collection of books, evidently collected on the theory that a large quantity of books forms a library.

The catalogue forms a volume of 444 pages, well printed, with an elaborate description of the books, many of them being described to an extent far out of proportion to their mercantile value.

The collection had been offered as a whole for the modest sum of \$75,000, at which price it did not find a buyer, and was, therefore, sold at auction. Although the books generally sold well, they realized less than half of that amount, the fact being that they were largely (as usual) overestimated by the owner or his representative.

Some of the Boston newspapers gushed into ecstasies in describing the quality of the books, and mourned with equal extravagance the low prices for which they sold; whereas we, who deal in books, hesitate not to offer to duplicate the entire library, with less than a score of exceptions, at the same rates. The truth is, it was a bookseller's library(?), by which we mean that the former owner was an impressible individual, who bought anything and everything which the enterprising Boston booksellers suggested as "books without which no library could be said to be complete."

The array of folios was really stupendous, including ponderous tomes of the most useless character, which were doubtless regarded as immense bargains when purchased, and which certainly had the quality of quantity. As a specimen of how useful such a collection must have been to its owner, we instance Scott Russell's Treatise on Naval Architecture, in three elephant folios; evidently it had never been opened, and as a mere elementary book on botany, Sibthorp's Flora Græca, 10 vols. folio, also in its primitive state, while Dietrich's Phytanthoza Iconographia, 8 vols., folio, was for a more advanced student.

Mr. Humphreys was evidently intent on having what he supposed to be a fine library—a most laudable design, and had he made the proper formation of a library something of a study he would doubtless have succeeded; as it was, he gathered a great many books on a great many subjects, but no complete collection on any given topic.

In this respect he has many imitators. A man gets a notion he wants some books, because his neighbor Smith has some and his architect has built him a library room; he consults the nearest bookseller, who as a rule knows nothing about the books he sells except their price, and he gets a lot of literary furniture; or he has a flirtation in the auction room; he secures a catalogue and he marks the names of the authors who seem desirable, he goes to the sale and he sees books selling at for from ten cents to ten dollars a volume, and he is struck with their cheapness, and for a few dollars he fills a bookcase with—trash. Even if his authors are good his editions are poor, and by-and-by, if he is in earnest

about a library, he perceives that he has made a great mistake, he sells his trash at a good round loss and does better the next time.

This is a frequent experiment, as many a book buyer knows to his cost. How to avoid this mistake will be the subject of some future article.

The London *Bookseller*, of June 2d, has the following paragraph:

"SOMETHING LIKE POPULARITY.—*The Sinner's Friend*, a little work by the late Mr. Hall, of Maidstone, father of the Rev. Newman Hall, has just reached its 413th edition, or 1,850,000th thousand!" etc.

Is there not a slight mistake in these figures? Does the *Bookseller* mean to tell us that with the 413th edition of this "little work" the total number of copies issued has been 1,850,000,000? Probably he meant to say 1850th thousand.

ZIUQUIZ.

Mr. B. F. De Costa has issued through Mr. A. D. F. Randolph, a little book on the Moabite stone, discovered by Mr. Klein, at Diban, in 1868. The interpretation of the stone sounded like "a page of the Bible." The historical information given by this famous stone is said to "be important if not extensive, it forms so much contemporaneous testimony to the historical basis of the Old Testament." It is somewhat unfortunate that the efforts of various would-be purchasers to secure it led the Moabites to quarrel over it and finally break it up and use the fragments as charms. Those who wish to satisfy their curiosity will do well to get Mr. De Costa's book.

"*The Gates Ajar*."—A practice has lately come into vogue of naming novels by some quaint poetical phrase; such, for instance, as 'Not Wisely, but too Well,' which line is to be found in *Othello*. Or, again, 'Red as a Rose is She,' which is obviously taken from the well-known verse in the *Ancient Mariner*. The singular title of the remarkable little volume, '*The Gates Ajar*,' by Miss E. S. Phelps, of Andover, U. S., may probably have been suggested by the thought of another American writer—namely, Longfellow; for in his *Golden Legend*, part II., one of the characters (Elsie) says:

"When Christ ascended
Triumphantly from star to star,
He left the gates of heaven ajar."

EFF.

Messrs. A. L. Bancroft & Co., of San Francisco, have lately issued a series of guide books to the Pacific Coast and Yosemite Valley. In view of the increasing facilities for the exploration of the Far West, and the increasing tide of travellers and sight-seers flowing beyond the Rocky Mountains, these handy guides should meet with a large sale. They are published at the moderate (for California) price of 75c. each. Messrs. Bancroft have also just issued "*Time and Eternity*," a poem, by George MacHenry. Price, \$1.75.

National Methods of Applauding.—Clapping with the hands is going out of use in the United States, and stamping with the feet is taking its place. When Mr. Combe was lecturing on phrenology at the Museum building, in Philadelphia, twelve or thirteen years ago, he and his auditors were much annoyed by the *pedal* applause of a company in the room above, who were listening to the concerts of a negro band. Complaint was made to the authorities of the Museum Society; but the answer was, that nothing could be done, as stamping of the feet was "the national method of applauding."

The crying of "hear him! hear him!" during the delivery of a speech, is not in use in the United States, as an English gentleman discovered who settled here a few years ago. He attended a meeting of the members of the church to which he had attached himself, and hearing something said that pleased him, he cried out, "hear him! hear him!" Upon which the sexton came over to him, and told him that, unless he kept himself quiet, he would be under the necessity of turning him out of Church. M. E.

Philadelphia (1853.)

In the midst of the terrible anarchy which has prevailed, there is considerable interest in finding that the Academy of Sciences in Paris continued in philosophic calmness its weekly sittings. We have reports of several papers read on the 1st and 8th of May. One by M. Stanislas Meunier, "On Meteorites," appears to have been of especial interest. M. Chales also contributed a valuable memoir "On Conic Sections." On the 29th of May, M. Chevreul, Director of the Museum of Natural History, announced that the whole of the collection remained uninjured, notwithstanding the dangers with which it was threatened during the siege. M. Chevreul, as Chief of the Dyeing Department of the Gobelins, stated that eighty metres of buildings had been burnt, and that the collection of tapestries, which have been accumulated from the time of Louis XVI. to present day, had been entirely destroyed.—*Athenæum*.

Most readers are familiar with the poem beginning with the following stanza:

"The bard has sung, God never formed a soul
Without its own peculiar mate, to meet
Its wandering half, when ripe to crown the whole
Bright plan of bliss, most heavenly, most complete."

Who is the author of it? I have seen it printed with the signature, *Zophiel* (Maria del Occidente). Who was "Zophiel," and who "Maria del Occidente"?

CINCINNATI, May 22, 1871.

Editor of BIBLIOPOLIST:
Was it a poet that wrote

"Though lost to sight to memory dear"?

Several well read persons have ransacked their memories and libraries in vain to find from whom the quotation comes. Respectfully,

E. B. HARRIS.

The name *Perdue*, *Perduw*, or *Pardue* (as it is variously spelled), is a common one in certain localities of the South. Is it derived from the French *perda*, or *par Dieu*?

It was announced in the Brussels Journals in 1856, that a gigantic work was then in progress at Bruges, which would require twenty years for its completion. "M. Depaepe of that city proposed to produce in Gothic letter '*L'Imitation de Jesus Christ*,' by the Abbé d'Assance." This work was to fill 670 pages of the dimensions of "three quarters of a yard in height, by eighteen inches wide, and to contain 114 engravings, forming copies of the great masters of the Flemish School, viz.: Van Eyck, Memling, Pourbus, Claessens, etc.," the pages on which were to be displayed the "Imitation of Jesus Christ" to be "encircled with garlands and other ornaments, in blue and gold."

Has this work been completed, or is it still in course of preparation?

The final issue of the Early English Text Society's books for this year is now in the publisher's hands for distribution next week. It consists of a curious collection of Legends of the Holy Rood, or Anglo-Saxon and Early English Poems on the Cross, with copies from two early MSS. of illuminations of the instruments of Christ's torture, scourge, spear, hammer, nails, &c., edited from the manuscripts by Dr. Richard Morris; the Minor Poems of Sir David Lyndesay, edited by Mr. James A. H. Murray, and with a critical essay on Lyndesay by Prof. Nichol of Oxford and Glasgow; and the Times Whistle, a set of satires on the time of James the First, to which we have called attention before, now first edited, from the MS. in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, by Mr. J. Meadows Cowper, of Faversham. The society has other books ready for issue, but is obliged to put off their publication till next year for want of funds. It gives five texts this year for the guinea subscription to its Original Series.

Early Philadelphia Directories.—The first Philadelphia Directories were published in the year 1785, when two appeared: White's & McPherson's. The latter is a duodecimo volume of 164 pages, and contains some things worth making a note of.

Some persons do not seem to have comprehended the object of the inquiries made of the inhabitants as to their names and occupations; supposing, perhaps, that they had some connection with taxation. The answers given by such are put down in the *Directory* as the names of the respondents. Thus:

"I won't tell you, 3, Maiden's Lane."
"I won't tell it, 15, Sugar Alley."
"I won't tell you my name, 160, New Market Street."
"I won't have it: umbered, 478, Greene Street."
"I won't tell my name, 185, St. John Street."
"I shall not give you my name, 41, Stamper's Alley."
"What you please, 49, Market Street."

In the *errata* are the following:

"For Cross Woman read Cross Widow."
"For Cox Cats read Cox Cato."

The alphabetical arrangement of a *Directory* is as great a leveller as the grave. In the *Directory* for 1798, after—

"Dennis, Mr., Tylor, Pewter Platter Alley."

appears the following:

"Dorleans, Messrs, Merchants, near 100, South Fourth Street."

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These were Louis Philippe and one of his brothers, who lived at the north-west corner of Fourth and Princes Streets, in a house still standing, and now numbered 110.

Talleyrand and Volney lived for some time in Philadelphia; but, not being housekeepers, their names do not appear in any of the Directories.

Philadelphia.

UNEDA.

Dr. Franklin.—I possess the following lines, in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin, written in the year 1780. Can any of your readers tell me who was the author of them, and when and where they were first printed?

"When Orpheus went down to the Regions below,
Which men are forbidden to see;
He tun'd up his Lyre, as historians show,
To set his Euridice free.
All Hell was astonish'd, a person so wise
Should so rashly endanger his life,
And venture so far! But how vast their surprise,
When they heard that he came for his wife.

"To find out a punishment due to the fault,
Old Pluto had puzzled his brain:
But Hell had not torments sufficient, he thought,
So he gave him his wife back again.
But pity succeeding, soon mov'd his hard heart,
And, pleas'd with his playing so well,
He took her again, in reward of his Art:
Such power had Music in Hell!"

G. M. B.

Your extracts from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, headed "The Schoolmaster Abroad in Staffordshire," in *THE BIBLIOPOLIST* for April, 1871 (p. 103), may be found in *Punch*. The first anecdote, that with reference to the Bishop, was printed there some ten years ago, the second two or three years ago.

Yours respectfully,

CHARLES E. STRATTON, JR.

Boston, May 11, 1871.

MIRACLE PLAYS.*

In June last, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the performance of the now celebrated *Passionspiel*, at Ober-Ammergau, which was interrupted last year by the Franco-German war, recommenced, and it is to be continued at intervals till the end of September. We shall not now enter on any description of the solemnity, which appears to have deeply and favorably impressed spectators of the most various classes and habits of thought. But its recurrence naturally suggests some inquiry into the origin and history of those Mysteries or Miracle Plays once so common throughout Christian Europe, but of which this decennial celebration in an obscure Tyrolean valley is now the sole relic. For we cannot consider the grotesque, not to say profane, representations of sacred subjects occasionally interpolated into the ordinary dramatic programme at some Spanish theatres as deserving to be placed in the same category. The Ammergau Passion Play is not indeed itself a mediæval institution, but it can only be rightly understood in connection with those popular "Mysteries" and "Moralities" of the middle ages, and they again must be traced back to a more remote antiquity and to earlier forms of faith. The drama, as has been

justly said, is based on a principle inherent in human nature—that instinct of imitation which is not peculiar to any age or people. And hence there is evidence of its early existence among the most diverse and even the rudest nations. Not only was it in high repute at the same time in Greece and in Hindostan, but even the Chinese have from time immemorial possessed a regular theatre, and the ancient Peruvians had both tragedies and comedies. And they must in each case have invented the drama for themselves. But there is a further point in common among all the earliest dramatic performances of which we have any record, though it is most conspicuously brought out in the case of the Greek drama, which is the best known to us. They seem to have always had a religious origin. Mythology supplied the materials alike for the Comic and the Tragic Muse, and the frequently recurring festivals of local or national deities afforded the occasion for public representations. Music and poetry, wherever they exist, are sure to be enlisted in the service of religion, and among an agricultural population like that of early Greece, Dionysos, the god of the vineyard, held necessarily a prominent place in the national worship. The hymns sung around the festal altar, whether solemn or jocose, gradually developed into all the artistic splendours of the drama; the stately dithyrambic ode, with the Satyric chorus, became the basis of Greek tragedy, and the Phallic song was expanded into the comedy of Aristophanes. We know of but two historical tragedies by Greek poets, which therefore have not a mythological origin; the *Capture of Miletus* by Phrynichus, and the *Persians* of Æschylus. And the exception proves the rule. Phrynichus was fined by the Athenians for harrowing their feelings by the representation of contemporary misfortunes. It must be remembered too that the Æleusinian and other Mysteries of ancient Greece, to which the initiated alone were admitted, consisted, as far as anything can be ascertained about them, mainly of symbolical and dramatic representations. And here we touch on the connecting link between the classical and Christian drama.

The early Fathers of the Church, whether with or without sufficient information it may be difficult to determine, invariably denounce the Greek Mysteries in the strongest terms as hotbeds of the grossest obscenity. Even St. Clement of Alexandria, with all his admiration of Greek philosophy, is no exception. For many centuries no Christian could be present at the theatre without forfeiting his religious position and privileges, and no actor could be baptized without first renouncing his profession. But if the authorities of the Church were unsparing in their denunciation of heathen solemnities, they were too wise to ignore the human instincts to which the drama appeals. They put forward Mysteries of their own as a counter-attraction to those of the old superstitions, and thus the Christian drama grew up by degrees on the ruins of the Greek theatre. During the ages of persecution there was comparatively little scope for such a process of development; yet even then a considerable dramatic element may be traced in the earliest Christian liturgies, and the modes of celebrating the greater Church festivals. And no sooner did the Church emerge from the Catacombs than we find not only a rapid elaboration of ceremo-

* The curious reader is referred to Hone's *Ancient Mysteries* for information concerning Miracle Plays. The book is described in our advertising pages.

nial splendor in worship, but also direct attempts to compete with the Greek tragedians on their own ground. An early instance of this is given in the "Dying Christ" of St. Chrysostom, which was acted in church at Constantinople, partly in *tableaux vivants* and partly by dialogue. St. Gregory Nazianzen was another sacred dramatist. A solemn dance is still performed at Easter before the high altar of the cathedral at Seville, which is said to recall the movements of a Greek chorus. It was thus in the East that these religious plays originated, and they were only imported at a later date, probably by the Crusaders, into Western Europe. There are, however, records of convent plays in Germany as early as the time of Charlemagne, though the earliest specimen of such compositions still preserved is a manuscript of twelve dramas written in Terentian Latin by Hrotsvitha, abbess of Gandersheim in the tenth century, and performed in her convent, as we are told, "to the delight and edification of the nuns." Such representations soon became popular all over Europe, and nowhere more so than in England. It may be interesting to notice more particularly the "Mysteries" performed in our own country and in Germany. Strictly speaking, it should be said, that "Miracle" or "Mystery Play" designates a representation based on the lives of the saints, as distinguished from the "Passion Play" which represented the sufferings of Christ; but the distinction of terms is not always adhered to.

Matthew Paris tells us that the story of St. Catherine was dramatized by one Geoffrey, master of a school at Dunstable, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans, and acted by his boys early in the twelfth century. But the earliest play which has come down to us is the *Harroving of Hell*, composed in Latin two centuries later, in which the principal *dramatis personæ* are our Lord, Satan, Adam and Eve. The so-called "Ch-ster Mysteries," of about a century later again, are the best known of the English Miracle Plays. They include both a tragic and comic element, and in fact these performances seem always to have a tendency, especially in England, to degenerate into such coarse buffoonery as Longfellow has sought to reproduce in his *Golden Legend*. This was no doubt one element of their popularity, but it also led to their often being placed under the ban of ecclesiastical authority. Bishop Grandison, of Exeter, expressly forbade them as early as 1360. But they were too popular both with the Court and the masses to be easily put down. Edward III. was passionately addicted to such spectacles, and appears to have himself taken part in them, if we may judge from an inventory of articles used in a play acted at Guildford, at Christmas, 1347, which includes mention of "a harness of white buckram, lined with silver—namely, a tunic and shield, with the King's motto, 'Hay, hay, the Wythe Swan, by God's soul I am thy man,' for the use of the King himself." To the Miracle Plays succeeded "Moralities," in which abstract qualities—Justice, Mercy and the like—were personified, and these in turn led to the representation of real persons on the stage. In the fierce contests of the Reformation, the drama, like the pulpit, was eagerly appropriated by both sides for purposes of mutual attack. The marriage of Luther with a nun was satirized in a Latin Morality at Gray's Inn in 1529. So profane and indecent were some of the controversial plays of

the Reforming party that they were forbidden by the Privy Council, not only under Henry VIII. and Mary, but even under the orthodox sway of the "B. Edward VI.," on pain of imprisonment. But they held their ground nevertheless down to the time of Charles I. There are indeed old men still living who can remember seeing something of the sort in their childhood in remote country districts of England, as for instance in Cornwall. We have said that these Miracle Plays were at first always in Latin. They came, however, before long to be translated into the vernacular both in England and Germany. One of the earliest of the German Mysteries is the *Lament of the Virgin*, which was acted in church on Good Friday, and to this succeeded afterwards the "Passion Plays," representing the death and resurrection of Christ. In the fourteenth century the performances were transferred from the church to the street and market-place, and the number of actors largely increased. There is a curious history attached to one of the most famous of these early German plays, the *Tragedy of the Ten Virgins*, which was performed at Eisenach in 1332, to celebrate the restoration of peace. The Landgrave Frederick, named the Joyful, was present, and was terribly alarmed and angered by the close of the drama, where the Foolish Virgins are represented as appealing in vain to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and finally thrust down into hell, notwithstanding her entreaties to her Son to pardon them. "What means this, if God will not pity us even when Mary and the Saints intercede?" he exclaimed. His fright and indignation threw him into a fit of apoplexy, from which he never recovered till his death two years afterwards. So painfully realistic did these "Passion Plays" become in Germany, that in one acted at Metz in 1437 the priest who took the principal part nearly died of exhaustion on the cross, and another priest who represented Judas narrowly escaped hanging himself. The Crucifixion is still found very trying to the principal performer at Ammergau, who has to remain some twenty minutes on the cross, and a younger actor had to be substituted in consequence last year for the person who had taken that part in the three previous celebrations of the decennial solemnity.

It is remarkable that this solitary remaining memorial of the old Miracle Plays is of comparatively recent origin. In 1633 a deadly plague raged in the Ammerthal, and within three weeks eighty-four of the small community were corpses. The inhabitants then made a solemn vow that, if God would hear their prayer and remove the pestilence, they would every tenth year, in thankfulness for His mercies, represent the sufferings of the Redeemer. It is said that not a single death occurred after this vow was made, and it has been religiously observed ever since. The King of Bavaria has to give his sanction every time for the performance, and in 1810 an attempt was made to put it down by a general prohibition of all Miracle Plays. The inhabitants sent a deputation to Munich to plead their cause before King Louis, but in vain; he was, however, induced to relent by the intervention of his chaplain, and no difficulty has occurred since to disturb the periodical recurrence of the solemnity. It usually lasts from Whitsuntide till the end of September, being repeated on most of the intervening Sundays. —*Saturday Review*.

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CHAPTER V.



INTER FINALLY WORE AWAY, and spring returned, finding the garrison at Fort George unmolested. In the meanwhile, motives of prudence dictated the re-establishment of the hospital at Fort George; and, under date of April 3d, 1777, Dr. Potts writes to General Gates: "I arrived in this city the day before General Schuyler left on his way to Philad: He has ordered to establish the General Hospital at Fort George instead of Mount Independence."

At a later day, the following was addressed to Gates, the writer having in view the enforcement of stricter discipline:

"FORT GEORGE *May 4th 1777.*

"HONBLE SIR

"I beg leave to inform your Honour, that there are several Men of Col. Van Schaicks Regiment confined for Crimes not triable by a Regimental Court Martial, one for Desertion and the other for attempting to desert themselves and advising and persuading others to do the like, and as Examples are necessary to be made in the Presence of the Corps the Criminals belong to—I request your Honour to order a Court for their Trial—if you should judge it improper to order the Court to sit at this place, I should be glad to have your Honours Orders what to do with the Criminals—

"I have forwarded the cannon and — Artillery Stores to Ticonderoga, and am now busy to transport the Provisions a cross—

"I have the Honour to be with

"Great Esteem

"Your very Hble Servt

"C. V. DYCK.

(Gates' MSS., p. 70.)

"Honble Majr Genl GATES."

The spring passed in turmoil, and midsummer brought the invasion of Burgoyne. General Patterson, writing to General Gates, from Ticonderoga, May 5, 1777, says:

"By a Scout which this Day Returned I have Certain advice of a party of Indians &c. Who have come up the Lake as far as Crown point, And by their Tracts Taken there Rout towards Lake George—In Consequence of which Captain Whitcomb with one hundred men has gone in pursuit of them, upon whose Return I hope to have the satisfaction of Giving You a good Account of." (Gates' MSS., p. 105.)

The next document is from Gen. Wilkinson, and refers to the commander at Fort George :

FORT GEORGE, *May 11th 1777.*

"DEAR & HONOR^d SIR

"I arrived here last Evening and am obliged to wait this Day for the returns of this Garrison. I set out for Tyconderoga Tomorrow Morning with Major Hull's detachment which will be here this evening.

"It is with pleasure I retract my apprehension respecting a detention of Stores at F. Edward, I find the A. Q^r M: at that Post to be one of the few who make the Public Interest a first object, and therefore exerts Himself for His Country; The Capt^t McCrackin who Commands here wou^d figure better on a Scout than as a Commanding Officer; instead of cooperating with, He Counteracts the Measures of, the Q. M: & Com^{dy}, however as his Conduct is the result rather of Ignorance than design and as He is a brave Man who may be Serviceable in His way, they only wish to have Him removed, as the Command would then devolve on an active and judicious officer.

"T'was Ill natured, Ill judged and impolitic to remove Genl Wayne from Tyconderoga. All the accounts which I now meet from that Post are blacken^d by despair the Child of Terror. Imaginations big with apprehension may easily form an Indian in a Stump, Picture a floating Chunk for a Batteaux full of men. I hope my efforts may be of some Service as they shall not be spared—Inclosed you have the Commissary & Commanding officers returns at F^t Edward, as also the ordinance Stores & A Q^r Masters at this Place The Garrison and Commissary returns I shall enclose you Tomorrow. And am

"My Dear Gen^l

"Your most obliged

"Obdt & ready Serv^t

"JAMES WILKINSON.

"The Commissary has this Minute produced His return, as also the strength of the Garrison both which you have inclosed

"J. W."
(Gates' MSS.)

June 28, Schuyler wrote to Washington, from Albany, that should "General Burgoyne make a push to gain the south part of the Lake, I know of no obstacle to prevent him: comparatively speaking, I have not a man to oppose him; the whole number at the different posts &

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on this side of the lake, including Fort George & Skeensborough, not exceeding seven hundred men." (*Ibid*, p. 462.)

June 26, St. Clair writes to Schuyler, that a very large party was reported on the west side of the lake "to fall upon Fort George." They were said to consist of a thousand Indians and Canadians. (*Ibid*, p. 465.)

We have nothing more to present, in connection with the fort, until we reach the period of Burgoyne's actual approach. We find that, as he advanced over Lake Champlain, the alarm increased. Hence the following, written at Fort Edward, by General Schuyler to Washington:

"I am here at the head of a handful of men, not above fifteen hundred, without provision, with little ammunition, not above five rounds to a man, having neither balls, nor lead to make any; the country in the deepest consternation; no carriages to remove the stores from Fort George, which I expect every moment to learn is attacked." ("Washington's Writings," Vol. iv, p. 492.)

According to their anticipations, the Americans were forced to retreat, first from Ticonderoga, and then from Fort George. Dr. Potts reached Albany, and from thence addressed General Gates, as follows:

"MY DEAR GENERAL,

"Your very affectionate letter by John Keys came fortunately safe to my hands—give me leave to assure you it was a Cordial to my then drooping spirits—I scarce know what to say in respect to the late retreat, one thing however I firmly believe that Gen^l St. Clair will with the Candid & impartial still be considered the Great Soldier Honest Man even after the most narrow scrutiny—With regard to a certain General who was not on the Spot—the Clamors of the People are great indeed & in case of an attack from the Enemy God only knows the consequence.—The army are now at a place called Moses's Creek having Evacuated Fort Edward, the militia as usual desert by Regiments, if this part of the Continent is really to be defended, it must be in my humble opinion by a considerable supply of Continental Troops —. A strong party of the enemy are at Castleton in the Grants with Governor Skene at their Head cajoling the Inhabitants & I fear meet with too much success—Col: Warner is also there with a party of Militia to watch their motions— In Short My Dear General I look upon our present situation to be a critical one indeed, but I still hope your Warm prayer will be heard & our Righteous Cause not suffered to perish because Sinners are concerned in the defence of it —. Your Friends are well and at Camp which I left yesterday. The Indians are daily scalping around the camp even below Fort Edward.— I send this by Express by return if your business would

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admit, I should be happy to receive a line from you.— My most affectionate compliments to your good Family & believe me to be

"My Dear General your

"much obliged & most humble

"Serv^t

"JONⁿ POTTS.

"ALBANY July 28th 1777.

"P: S: I fortunately saved the bulk of my medicine, have my Hospital here, another at Saratoga & the third at Camp, the army are very Healthy, the whole of the Sick & wounded not exceeding 200.

"July 28th 8 o'clock A: M:

"A letter from Col: Lewis this moment arrived mentions that last evening a party of the Enemy of about 1000 attacked our Picquet near Fort Edward of 150 men drove them in Kill'd five men among whom is a Lieut: they also Kill'd a young Lady Dr McCrea's Sister all of whom they scalped & butchered."* (Gates' MSS., p. 39.)

The scene having now changed, the English authorities are now able to contribute something to the history of Fort George.

It appears that, when St. Clair's retreat of July 6th became known, Major Yates, who was in command at Fort George, marched away to Fort Edward with seven hundred men, carrying his baggage and stores, and setting the fort on fire. This took place July 16th. Burgoyne, who was then moving victoriously southward, thus writes of the affair:

"The garrison of Fort George in manifest danger of being cut off by the direct movement from Skenesborough to Hudson's River, took the measure I expected of abandoning the Fort, and burning the vessels, thereby leaving the lake entirely free. A detachment of the King's Troops from Ticonderoga, which I had ordered to be ready for that event, with a great embarkation of provisions, passed the lake on the same day that I took possession of this communication by land."

General Schuyler justified the abandonment of Fort George; on which point Washington, when writing, suspended his own opinion, remarking that others had informed him, "that a spirited, brave, judicious officer, with two or three hundred good men, together with the armed vessels you have built, would retard Burgoyne's passage across the Lake for a considerable time, if not render it impracticable, and oblige him to take a more difficult and circuitous route."

To this Schuyler replies:

"The fort was part of an unfinished bastion of an intended fortification. The bastion was closed at the gorge. In it was a barrack capable

* It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to delay here to remark that the whole question in regard to the death of this unfortunate young woman, is one involved in doubt. Whether she was killed by accident or design is not clear to all.

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of containing between thirty and fifty men; without ditch, without wall, without cistern; without any picket to prevent an enemy from running over the wall. So small, as not to contain above one hundred and fifty men, commanded by ground greatly overlooking it, and within point blank shot; and so situated that five hundred men may lie between the bastion and the Lake, without being seen from this *extremely* defensible fortress. Of vessels built there, one was afloat and tolerably fitted; the others still upon the stocks; but, if the two had been upon the water, they would have been of but little use, without rigging and guns." ("Washington's Writings," Vol. iv, p. 494.)

This was clearly a time of very great depression and distress. Gouverneur Morris, in writing to John Jay in regard to the trials of Valley Forge in 1780, suddenly turns from the spectacle, saying, "But I have seen Fort George in the summer of 1777." ("Life," Vol. i, p. 154.)

The air was filled with rumors, and the wagons sent to Fort George to bring away stores were reported "cut off," which aroused Schuyler, who marched to the rescue with five hundred men. This episode is thus told:

"HEAD QUARTERS, FORT EDWARD, July 15th, 1777.

"GENTLEMEN—A report having been propagated here a few hours ago, that a number of wagons, which had been sent this morning to Fort George to remove some stores from that place, had been cut off by a large party of the enemy's Indians, General Schuyler immediately marched with a body of troops towards Fort George. On his way he received a letter from Colonel Ashley, who commands at the Five Mile Run, of which the enclosed is a copy; by that it seems the enemy's numbers must have been very inconsiderable, as we had near a hundred wagons on the road, and we cannot learn that they have been molested.

"I am, gent. respectfully,

"Your most humble servant,

"JOHN LANSING, Junr."

("J. N. Y. Prov. Congress," Vol. II, p. 112.)

July 16, Gouverneur Morris writes from Fort Edward: "Fort Ann is abandoned, & Fort George will be so by tomorrow this time, if not sooner taken." He says, also, in a postscript: "If we get our stores from Lake George, & accomplish a safe retreat to this place ** our affairs will wear a more smiling aspect."

The next day he wrote again from Saratoga:

"I left Fort Edward with Gen. Schuyler at noon, and shall return thither some time to-morrow morning. Fort George was destroyed yesterday afternoon, previous to which, the provisions, stores, batteaux, &c. were removed, and this morning about ten o'clock the last of them passed us about three miles to the northward of Fort Edward, at which

place all the troops from the lake have arrived, and these, together with some others, from our advanced post towards Fort George; about twelve hundred, perhaps more, are somewhat farther advanced upon the road to Fort Anne. The enemy have not yet made any motion that we know of, nor indeed can they make any of consequence until they shall have procured carriages, and then they may find it rather difficult to come this way, if proper care be taken to prevent them from procuring forage. For this purpose, I shall give it as my opinion to the General, whenever he asks it, to break up all the settlements upon our northern frontier, to drive off the cattle, secure or destroy the forage, &c; and also to destroy the saw mills. These measures, harsh as they may seem, are, I am confident, absolutely necessary. They ought undoubtedly to be taken with prudence, and temperately carried into execution. But I will venture to say, that if we lay it down as a maxim, never to contend for ground but in the last necessity, to leave nothing but a wilderness to the enemy, their progress must be impeded by obstacles which it is not in human nature to surmount; and then, unless we have with our usual good nature, built posts for *their* defence, they must at the approach of winter retire to the place from whence they at first set out. The militia from the eastward come in by degrees, and I expect we shall soon be in force to carry on the *petite guerre* to advantage, provided always, Burgoyne attempts to annoy us, for it is pretty clear that we cannot get at him." ("New York Congress," Vol. II, p. 508.)

The garrison at Fort George had a somewhat narrow escape, as appears from a minute dated, in camp at Fort Edward, Aug. 6. 1777:

"Very fortunately for the garrison at Fort George, they had passed this place about an hour before our arrival; had they been that much later, they must have been inevitably cut off." ("Anbury's Travels," Vol. I, p. 363.)

Burgoyne clearly aimed at the capture of the garrison, as, on the 11th of July, he wrote to Sir Guy Carlton:

"My present purpose, Sir, is to get a sufficient number of Gunboats upon the Lake George to scour that Lake as expeditiously as possible, to support them: them with a proper force to attack Fort George on that side, while with the main army, as soon as refreshed and supplied, I attack Fort Edward from hence [Skenesborough] and thereby cut off the communication from Albany to Fort George, & consequently prevent the succour or retreat of that garrison." ("Burgoyne's Report," Ap. XLII.)

Evidently Burgoyne considered this an important point. We find that the enemy had accurate knowledge of everything of consequence in relation to the positions and the fortifications.

Fort George, wrongly called "Fort Edward," is thus described in Riedesel's papers of 1777, at a time when the Americans were still in possession:

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"1st. The citadel has been recently repaired and provided with two nine pounders. It contains, also, twelve cannon, which are not yet mounted. Barracks for 1,000 men lie within twenty yards east of it.

"2d. Close to the shore is a large magazine in which there is an abundance of provisions.

"3d. To the west of this magazine, where Fort William Henry formerly stood, is a large hospital, a building of great dimensions, & used for the sick from Fort Carrillon.* This is said to be surrounded by palisades, and to have a small redoubt on the hill south of it. A strong guard is posted here every night. The rebels at Fort George are very busy cutting down trees & carrying them to the shore, to be used in the construction of six strong vessels on the lake. A so-called Commodore Wyncoop, is said still to be in command at this post; only one regiment, it is further said, remains here during the summer; but as yet there are only 400 men there. There is also considerable scarcity of ammunition." ("Riedesel's Journal," Vol. 1, p. 295.)

As Burgoyne himself relates, a British force passed over Lake George and took possession of the fort on the day it was deserted by the Americans. Whoever may have *commanded* this detachment at the time, Colonel Anstruther appears to have held Fort George, where he afterwards received the Baroness Riedesel,† the wife of the general, when on her way to join her husband in Burgoyne's army.

The materials for this period are exceedingly scanty, as no one appears to have been interested in compiling notes.

* The French name of Ticonderoga, meaning a chime, and given on account of the music of the Fall, which are of considerable height.

† The Baroness says, in her Journal: "The following day passed Ticonderoga, and about noon arrived at Fort George, where we dined with Colonel Anstruther, an exceedingly good and amiable man, who commands the 62d regiment. In the afternoon we seated ourselves in a calash, & reached Fort Edward on the same day, which was the 14th of August." (Munsell's Reprint, p. 91.)





CHAPTER VI.



URNING AGAIN to "Riedesel's Journal" we take the following: "On the 15th July General Riedesel was ordered to Ticonderoga to superintend the removal of Ships to Lake George. Of the two regiments yet remaining at Ticonderoga—the 62d English and Prince Frederick's—one half of each, under the command of Colonel Anstruther and Major Von Hiller, was to cover the removal." (*Ibid*, p. 124.)

"26 July. The Ships & baggage were to be transported by Canadians to Lake George, & thence to Fort Edward on the Hudson River." (*Ibid*, p. 124.)

July 31. "General Phillips—having accomplished the removal of the Stores and artillery from Ticonderoga—had arrived at Fort George, and was busily engaged in building a road from that fort to Fort Edward." (*Ibid*, p. 125.)

"Camp near Fort Edward. Aug 5. 1777.

"An Officer and 20 men with Non Commission Officers in proportion from the Line will conduct all the prisoners taken from the Enemy to Fort George, to-morrow morning." ("Burgoyne's Order Book," p. 64.)

"Camp near Fort Edward. Aug. 6 1777.

"Four companies will embark at Fort George in the First return Boats, and the remaining four companies are to wait for the boats that bring the 62d Regiment from Ticonderoga." (*Ibid*, p. 68.)

Aug. 9th. "Brigadier Powell was ordered to take with him the 53d Regiment and relieve Brigadier Hamilton at Ticonderoga: at the same time the 62d. was ordered to rejoin the army. The company of Canadian Militia, under Boucherville, was to remain at Fort George." (*Ibid*, p. 126.)

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Aug. 17. Burgoyne "entrusted to Riedesel the duty of maintaining communication with Fort Anne and Fort George."

Aug. 31. Burgoyne says, though with some misapprehension in regard to the facts of the case, that,

"Regarding Fort George, it is my intention to leave there four companies of the 47th Regiment, two of which will occupy the fort, & the remainder the island three miles distant from the land. I take it for granted that the fort is safe against surprise, no matter how strong the attacking party may be. In case of assault, the garrison can still retreat through the open ditch, to the island, whither the enemy can never go, being destitute of ships, while we, on the contrary, have gunboats." (*Ibid*, p. 274.)

The officer placed in command, in accordance with this resolution, as we shall see further on, was Lieutenant Irwine.

Sept. 1st. All the heavy baggage of Burgoyne's army was sent back to Ticonderoga. "Those articles, however, which might be most needed, were only sent back as far as Diamond Island in Lake George—seven [three?] miles from Fort George—that they might be close at hand in case of need. At the same time two companies of the 47 Regiment were sent with them as a garrison; only thirty men & one officer being left at Fort George, as the communication with that lake was to be given up for the present. In pursuance of this plan the two companies of the 53d. Regiment, which had been hitherto stationed at Fort George, were sent to Ticonderoga to reinforce that post." ("Riedesel's Journal," p. 134.)

On Sept. 3d, "Riedesel left Fort George for the purpose of expediting the transports for the army."

Sept. 10, Burgoyne again writes, "The last [secret] orders have been given to have nothing remain in Fort George. The last of the wagons will accordingly pass Fort Edward Either tomorrow evening or Friday morning." In the same letter, he says, that General St. Leger had been obliged to retreat to Oswego, and was expected at the lake, adding, "I have sent him orders as to the necessary measures of precaution he is to take upon arriving on the island at the lower end of Lake George." (*Ibid*, p. 275.)

Sept. 11th, General Riedesel "was very much occupied in transporting stores from Fort George to Fort Edward, whence they were carried down the Hudson." ("Journal," Vol. 1, p. 138.)

In the meanwhile, a movement was planned by the American General Lincoln to make an important raid upon Burgoyne's rear. The plan of the enterprise is sketched in a letter from Lincoln to General Gates:

"PAWLET *September 14th. 1777.*

"DEAR GENERAL,

noon.

"I just now received your favor of yesterdays date. By a scout which hath been near Fort Edward, and from one of the Inhabitants in that neighbourhood, I have a confirmation of the enemy's movements mentioned in your letter. I think it is most probable, their design is on your post; however, I will keep the most watchful eye over them, and, if possible, prevent a surprise.

"On being informed, by almost every person who came in, as well as by letter you inclosed me from General Palmer, of the weak state of Ticonderoga; and also advices that a considerable number of our men were prisoners in the enemy's hands, and kept at Lake George landing, under a very small guard; at which place the enemy had a large Magazine of stores; and supposing a movement that way, would perfectly coincide with the original design, of my being here; vizt. if possible, to divide and distract the enemy;—was induced yesterday, with the advice of the officers, to send Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, to the landing at Lake George, to relieve the prisoners, and destroy the stores there,—the same number of men under Colonel Johnson, to mount independence; the latter to give a diversion to the enemy, while the former should execute his commission; and if an opportunity should offer, without risking too much, to push for mount independence, while Colonel Browne would attempt Ticonderoga—and further, to amuse, and divide the enemy, by attacking their out posts &c.—alike number of men were sent under Colonel Woodbridge, to skeensboro, thence to Fort Ann, and on towards fort Edward.—I hope these movements will meet your approbation; I should have mentioned ye design before, and not put the plan in execution, without your advice, could I have been sure the information would not have fallen into the hands of the enemy.—I suppose you intended to hint to me your apprehension of danger in this way, and that I must be cautious what I wrote, when in the close of your favor of the 10th instant you say: 'I desire you will not fail, frequently to acquaint me with your movements, and, as far as is prudent, with your designs.'

"I am dear General with sincere regard

"Your most obedient and humble servant.

"B: LINCOLN.

"The Honble Major Genl GATES."

(Gates' MSS.)

At Ticonderoga Colonel Brown accomplished considerable; even as when he first proved his courage at the capture of the place, May 10, 1775, by bravely supporting Benedict Arnold, who was the first man to enter the fort. At the beginning of this the second attack, Brown was again successful, but, in the end, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and retire with his trophies and the American prisoners whom he had succeeded in liberating. But not yet satisfied, he resolved to make an attack first upon Diamond Island, and afterwards upon Fort

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George, using for this purpose the vessels captured from the British at the north end of the lake, an event that Burgoyne never anticipated. The results of this movement are given by Burgoyne, who writes:

"On the 24th instant, the enemy upon Lake George attacked Diamond Island in two divisions. Captain Aubrey* and two companies of the 47th regiment had been posted at that island from the time the army passed the Hudson River, as a better security for the stores at the south end of Lake George than Fort George, which is on the continent, and not tenable against artillery and numbers. The enemy were repulsed by Captain Aubrey with great loss, and pursued by the gunboats under his command, to the east shore, where two of their principal vessels were retaken, together with all the cannon. They had just time to set fire to the other batteaux, and retreated over the mountain."†

Brown arranged the plan of the attack with skill, but the artillery of the British was too powerful for the sides of his little lake craft, and he was obliged to retreat, though with a trifling, instead of "great loss," as Burgoyne phrased it.

It must be remarked, however, as a singular fact, that the fullest published account of the "Life of Colonel Brown," an able and meritorious officer, makes no allusion to this affair at Diamond Island, but represents that he was ordered to Fort George to release the American prisoners there, when the prisoners, whom Colonel Brown happily liberated, were confined at Ticonderoga.

As an account of the history of this campaign is not included in the plan of these "Notes," it will be sufficient to say that, eventually, defeat crowned the efforts of Burgoyne, and his army was surrendered to General Gates.‡

The small force of British that now remained on Lake George after the surrender of their chief withdrew to Ticonderoga, where General Powell held command.

Nov. 1. Samuel Herrick, colonel commanding at Pawlet, attacked Powell in his stronghold at Mount Independence, with the following characteristic letter:

"PAWLET Nov 1st 1777.

"SIR:

"By the time this comes to hand, I hope you will have recovered from the surprise with which you have been repeatedly effected since my

* Thomas Aubrey, second son of Sir Thomas Aubrey, of Glanborganshire, entered the army as ensign in 1762, and served in Florida. He was at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and was made a major in 1782, and afterwards rose to the rank of colonel. He died, January 15, 1814.

† "Burgoyne's Report," App. LIII. For the full account of this transaction, with the original reports, see the author's paper on "The Battle of Diamond Island," now about being published by the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society in their "Register."

‡ Two days before the surrender of Burgoyne, Sept. 15, being then at Fort Edward, David How says, in his "Diary:" "This morning our Scouts Brought in upwards of 50 Indians that were made prisoners Yesterday Near Fort George—They had With them Silver & Gold And a Number of Blankets And other Valuable Bagege." ("Diary," p. 48.)

correspondence with you—You Impute my conduct to Ignorance of the rules of War, I hope Sir I have not been Guilty of Ill manners

“if you please sir, I am ready to conclude the Trifling correspondence with you provided you will Quit the Ground immediately, on which you now pretend to teach me military rules, Otherwise I shall endeavour to convince you at the Head of my GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, That your dominion is but Temporary

“I am sincerely sir

“Your most Humble Servt

“SAML HERRICK Colo Comd

“To the Honorable Brigadier Genl POWEL Commanding at mount independence.”
 (“Gates’ MSS.)

General Powell, however, does not appear to have been greatly alarmed by the “Green Mountain Boys,” whom he estimated by his own ideas of value; yet, when he found that he could no further support the sinking cause of the King by holding his position, he retired to the North. Herrick, however, supposed that General Powell believed him “serious,” and that the belief caused a “precipitate” retreat. Probably what the general feared was another *letter*. But we must allow Herrick to tell his own story.

“POWLET November 14th 1777.

“SIR

“I have the pleasure to inform you, that the Enemy have abandoned Tyconderoga Mount Independence &c on saturday Last After demolishing all the Fortifications, Bridges, Burning all the Houses, and destroying all stores Cannon &c. which they could not bring off,—their retreat was precipitate inded, as appears by many circumstances.

“A few days before I was informed by deserters that their shipping and a number of Boats were Loaded for St. Johns, who had orders to return immediately to fetch more Loading. — About that time I ordered Capt. Hemⁿ Allen with 60 Rangers down to Lake Champlain with orders to Take two Armed vessels by stratagem, and to secure what provisions, Forage &c. he could, Capt. Allen was join’d by Capt. Ln at Rutland, and a considerable number of the Inhabitants & hunters a few days after which enlarged Capt. Allens ditachments to about 200 men.

“I suppose they had not yet recovered from the surprise which my letter of Nov 1st occasioned them, when Capt Allens detachment was, discovered on the Lake a few days After, which made them suppose I was serious [*sic*] in my hinted projects, and being afraid, that their retreat would be cut off at the Narrows, they immediately began their retreat on the 3^d Instant and finished the whole on Sattarday Last,

“Major Wait is gone with 75 men to take possession and to secure Stores, Cattle, Horses, &c boats, if the enemy have left any. Capt. Allen is now harrassing the Enemies rear, endeavoring to take some scatring boats.

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"The Coast is now clear and the season is far advanced and nothing more is to be feared from the Enemy in this Quarter til Spring."

* * * * *

(Gates' MSS., Vol. II, p. 5.)

Military criticism is the proper work of soldiers, and yet it may be allowable to advert briefly to the reasons that led Burgoyne to choose the route by South Bay in preference to that of Fort George. Here, therefore, let us insert Burgoyne's own defence. He writes:

"Question has been made by those who began at this period to arraign my military conduct, whether it would not have been more expedient for the purpose of rapidity, to have fallen back to Ticonderoga, in order to take the convenient route by Lake George, than to have persevered in the laborious & difficult course by land to Fort Edward. My motives for preferring the latter were these: I considered not only the general impressions which a retrograde motion is apt to make upon the minds of both enemies & friends, but also, that the natural conduct of the Enemy in that case would be to remain at Fort George, as their retreat could not then be cut off, in order to oblige me to open trenches, and consequently to delay me, and in the meantime they would have destroyed the road from Fort George to Fort Edward. On the other hand, by persisting to penetrate by the short cut from Fort Anne, of which I was then master, to Fort Edward, though it was attended with great labor, and many alert situations, the troops were improved in the very essential point of wood service; I effectually dislodged the Enemy from Fort George without a blow; and seeing me master of one communication, they did not think it worth while to destroy the other." ("Burgoyne's Report," p. 12.)

It is clear, from what he says about opening trenches, that he knew nothing of the real indefensibility of Fort George. Again, he writes to show how he gained time:

"I therefore shall add only two short remarks; the one, that the fact of gaining considerable time by allotting the whole service of the water craft to the transport of provision & stores over Lake George, instead of employing great part of it for the transport of troops, is incontestably proved by the evidence of Captain Money and Lieutenant Colonel Kingston: the other, that to have reached Fort Edward with the troops sooner than the 29th of July (the day that the first embarkation of provisions reached Fort George) would not only have been useless but also highly impolitic." (*Ibid*, p. 97.)

Still further, he declares that, in case he had moved his whole force over Lake George,

"To maintain the communication with Fort George during such a movement, so as to be supplied by daily degrees at a distance, continually increasing, was an obvious impossibility." (*Ibid*, App. xxii.)

In the course of the official inquiry into Burgoyne's military policy, the following questions were put to the Earl of Balcarras:

"Q. Had the army proceeded to Fort George by Ticonderoga and Lake George, might not the enemy have remained at Fort George till the trenches were opened, and have still had their retreat secure?"

"A. That is a matter of opinion upon speculation.

"Q. Do you think that the British army, being well provided with the artillery, was a probable reason for their not defending entrenchments?"

"A. The reason they did not defend their entrenchments was, that they always marched out of them and attacked us."

To the first question the answer is an idle one, while the reply to the second is simply pert. Every one who *knew* anything of Fort George knew that a fox could have run over its walls. The idea of a siege would have made the commander smile. It is true that Washington himself was "informed"* that a brave commander could have held the fort, and delayed the advance of the British, but what shall we say of his informant?

In regard to the allegation that the Americans were accustomed to march out of their intrenchments to attack the British, we need only to remember that such was simply not the case.

The misfortunes of a military commander always inspire hostile critics with an astuteness that is remarkable and a wisdom that is profound. Still we must do justice to King George by quoting his declaration, written *before* the advance of Burgoyne, wherein he says:

"If possible, possession must be taken of Lake George, and nothing but an absolute impossibility of succeeding in this can be an excuse for proceeding by South Bay & Skenesborough."†

The seat of war having been removed by the surrender of Burgoyne, and the return of the remaining British forces to Canada, Fort George remained in quiet until 1780. The life of the little garrison, though dull enough, no doubt, in fact, would now, if it had been placed on record, afforded many incidents of interest to the historian. But the record we do not possess, though many an old diary bearing on the subject may now be reposing amid the dust of ancient alcoves and garrets, waiting to be drawn forth to light by the antiquary's hand.

Still the war was not destined to end without further adventures, for, in the autumn of 1780, Fort George suddenly came out once more into public notice.

Impelled by the desire to recover three barrels of silver-plate, then buried in the cellar of his house at Johnstown, and encouraged, perhaps, by the prospective results of the treason of Benedict Arnold, Sir John Johnson threaded his way down from Canada through the gorgeous

* See p. 36, *ante*. † Albermarle's "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," Vol. II. p. 331.

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October forests, bore off his treasure, and retired northward again, pursued by Governor Clinton, and marking his line of invasion with flames and smoke. Major Carlton likewise improved the occasion to come up Champlain and strike a blow at Forts Ann and George. The first-mentioned post fell on October 10th, and Fort George met the same fate on the following day. But as we have in the "Garrison Orders" of the few days previous some glimpses of the condition of things, let us give them here:

"GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE

"Sept 26 178—

"Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier that has drew Bayonet Scabords and Belts from the public are to return them to Public Store—

"The Commanding officers of Companies to see the above articles Colected and the Regimental Quarter master to Recpt for the Same—

"JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt.

"GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE

"Octobr 2 1780—

"Where as Complaint is maid by the Adgnt and Sargnt Magor of the great Difficulty they meet with in giting the men out the Parade in consiquence of which there are to direct that the Revile is Beat every morning at break of day when every officer Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the parade, except one officers Sarvnt to each room—the men are also ordered to keep their arms and accoutrements in good order and in such position that they can lay their hands upon them in the dark and if ocation Calls be ready for action in a moment— They are also to observe to be on the parade on every call of the drum without the least delay—The Sargeant of the gard is to awake the drummer every morning—

"The Commanding officer Expects these orders will be complied with in the strictest sence of the word. and who ever disobeyes may expect the severest punishment.—

"JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

"GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE.

"Octr 8th 1780—

"Court Martial to set immediately to such prisoners as shall be brought before them

"THOMAS SILL is President

"Ensⁿ GRANT { Members

"d LIDTHALL {

"The Court to set where the President shall appoint.

"P JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

"The Court Convened and being duly sworn proceeded to the tryal of Corp^l John Fretcher of Capt Wollcotts Company confined Neglect

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ot duty—Pleads not guilty The Court after hearing the evidence finds him guilty; and sentence him to be reduced to a private Sentinal and do duty as such.

“THOS SILL Prisdt

“The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be Complied with this evening at Rool Call—

“JOHN CHIPMAN Cap^t Comdt.

“GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE.

“Octbr 11 1778

“Sir as it is reported to me that their is a small party of savages near Bloddy pond, you will immediately take Forty Eight men, officers included and Proceed on the main road until you make discoveries of them, keeping a Suffisient advance and Flank gards in Such a manner as to prevent being surrounded. if you find a large party you will Emmediately Retreat to the fort except they should be savages only in which case you will attack and immediately Charge upon them—”

(“Hist. Mag.,” 1867, p. 378.)

But here the garrison orders suddenly came to an end, and the fort, with its single mounted gun, soon changed masters.



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CHAPTER VII.



INVASIONS like the so-called "Northern Invasion" had often been predicted, and Fort George, as we have seen, had often been threatened. Now, however, the act longed for by the Tories took place. On the 11th of October, ignorant of the surrender of Fort Ann, and mistaking the advancing force of Major Carlton for a handful of roving savages, Captain Chipman

sent out a party to reconnoitre. Meeting the enemy, they advanced to the attack, and were defeated, Captain Sill and two ensigns being killed, while the rest, with the exception of an ensign and fourteen men, surrendered. Those who thus escaped fled to the fort, which Carlton quickly surrounded. Resistance being useless, Fort George soon capitulated to the enemy, obtaining honorable terms.

But, notwithstanding the commander acted with all the bravery and circumspection that the case demanded, there was not wanting an accuser to misrepresent the circumstances.

Concerning this affair, Governor Clinton reported to General Washington, Oct. 30, that:

"The little post and garrison of Fort Ann, appeared to me to have been surrendered through treachery or cowardice. Capt Chipman, the commanding officer of Fort George, having on the first alarm sent out his whole garrison, (supposing the enemy to consist of only abt 30 Indians and tories), except 14 men obtained a very honorable capitulation, before he could be induced to surrender." ("Letters to Washington," Vol. III, p. 133.)

Aspersions like these very naturally brought out a defence from Captain Chipman, and he accordingly addressed the following letter to the public press:*

* This communication appears to have escaped the attention of those who have written on this subject.

"Mr. GREEN,

"The Singularity of the Misfortunes which happened at Fort George, on the 11th of October last, will justify a Desire that you will publish the following just Narration of the Circumstances of that unhappy Affair through the Channel of your paper.

"In the Beginning of October last, having the Command at Fort George, I was informed by my Scouts from the North End of Lake George, that they had discovered two Sail of the Enemy's Vessels at Anchor at Crown Point; which Intelligence, though nothing unusual, I communicated to Colonel Malcom, Commanding Officer in the Northern Department.

"The Enemy's Force consisting of 800 British, one Company of Yagers, 175 Indians and 200 Tories, under the Command of Major Carleton, gained a rapid Passage from Ticonderoga to the Head of South Bay, in the Night of the 8th of October, detaching a Party to return with their Boats to the Carrying-Place into Lake George, in Order to transport their Howitzer, Shells, &c. across that Lake to the Fort, which though dignified with that Term is but an unfinished Angle of the Intended Fort.*

"Monday the 8th of October, Capt. Sherwood, who commanded at Fort Ann, (a small Stockade, seven Miles South of the Head of South Bay, 20 E. N. E. from Fort George, and 14 from Fort Edward, garrisoned with two Lieutenants and seventy-five Men) was informed by his Scouts of the Approach of the Enemy, which Intelligence he Immediately communicated to Col. Henry Livingston, who commanded at Fort Edward; but Col. Livingston not forwarding the Intelligence to me, I was totally in the Dark with respect to the Enemy's Incursion into the Country against Fort Ann and the Vicinity.

"Tuesday the 10th, about Noon, Col. Livingston was inform'd by two Gentlemen who had occasionally rode out and narrowly escaped being taken, of the Enemy's having captured Fort Ann, and were making a rapid Progress through Kingsbury, burning and destroying all before them: Expresses were dispatched from Fort Edward upon this second Intelligence into the Country, but none to Fort George, altho' the Communication was open 'till 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon. Upon my being informed of the two Vessels before-mention'd at Crown-Point, I thought it necessary to keep a strict Eye upon them, and accordingly dispatched a Batteau in the Night to the North-End of Lake George, to watch their Motions, not knowing of their Troops having penetrated the Country by the Rout of South-Bay. This Boat went within eight Miles of the Landing, and† to Reconnoitre the Enemy, when they discovered the Party with the Howitzer, &c. fearing for Fort George; my Party finding their Retreat thus cut off wisely made their Escape by Land.

* See Schuyler's "Letter," p. 36, ante.

† The letters are blurred here and undecipherable. Copies of the paper are scarce.

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"Wednesday the 11th. The Garrison having been two Days without Provisions, I sent an Express to Fort Edward to have some forwarded, but he returned, having discovered a Party of Indians near Bloody-Pond, about a Mile and Half from the Fort. Thus situated without Provision, Artillery, and but a small Quantity of Ammunition, I thought it most advisable to reconnoitre this Party, with a View of falling upon the best Method of saving the small Garrison, and accordingly issued the following Order, from which I hoped some Advantage would arise either by clearing the Road of the Savages or of protecting any Convoy of Provision that might be coming to the Fort.

"GARRISON ORDERS.

"FORT GEORGE, *October 11th, 1780*

"SIR,

"As it is reported to me that there is a small Party of Savages near Bloody-Pond, you will immediately take the Command of a Party of forty-eight Men, Officers included, and proceed on *main Road* until you make Discoveries of them, keeping sufficient advanced and flank Guards in such a Manner as to prevent being surrounded; if you find a large Party you will immediately retreat to the Fort except they should be Savages only, in which Case you will immediately attack and charge upon them.*

"JOHN CHIPMAN, Capt. Commandant.

"To Capt. THOMAS SILL.

"Capt. Sill immediately marched, but unfortunately taking a Rout different from his Orders, he passed the Enemy on their Approach, and on his Return fell upon their Rear, which effectually prevented a Possibility of his Return to the Fort, and reduced him to the desperate Alternative of attacking a Body of *at least thirty to one*, or to march off through the Woods and expose himself to the infamous Reflections of Ignorance and Detraction; like brave Men they unanimously agreed on the Former and formed their Line, advancing (each Officer in command of his proper Section) near a Mile upon the Enemy, when they formed and were instantaneously attacked by this handful of brave Men who soon forced them to give way, and advanced on with charged Bayonets; but their Numbers being now known to the Enemy they soon surrounded and killed or took the whole, except Ensign Grant with 14 Men who made their Escape, and wisely kept clear of the Garrison, Capt. Sill and two Ensigns fell in the Action, and the Enemy immediately invested the Fort, and were opposed from the Wall by a six Pounder (being the only Piece of Ordnance mounted in the Fort) and 15 small Arms until they summoned a Surrender, which was granted after obtaining the following Terms, which I have the Confidence to declare I am not ashamed of, and could not have expected better if I had ten Times the Number.

* This is the same order already quoted, revised for the printer.

"This, Mr. Printer is a plain State of the Facts, and it will immediately appear to every One that the want of Men, Artillery, Ammunition and Provision is Cause sufficient for the Surrender of tenable Forts, much more for the wretched Production of a cantrous Jebb, and that the sending Capt. Sill was the only Step that could produce Advantage, by bringing in the Provision had it been upon the Road, or by making such Discoveries as would have authorized an Evacuation; but when Orders are disobeyed, it is not surprising that Plans are not executed. I obtained my Parole of Maj. Carleton until the 15th of next May, which has been a Matter of Cavil to the busy Propagators of unmerited Abuse and the pittyful Retailers of groundless Slander.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"JOHN CHIPMAN,

"Col. Warner's Regiment."

("Connecticut Gazette," Feb. 16, 1781.)

To this he appends the articles of capitulation which were revised. Therefore we give them *verbatim*:

"Articles of Capitulation between Major Carleton, commanding a detachment of the King's troops, and Capt. Chipman, Commanding at Fort George.

"Article 1st The Troops of the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

"Article 2nd That the women & children be permitted to return to their homes, with two waggons & their baggage.

"Article 3^d Each officer shall be allowed their servants

"Article 4th No Indian to enter the fort until a British detachment takes possession of the fort.

"Article 5th Major Carleton passes his honor that no levies on the fort shall be lost, nor any person to be molested.

"Article 6th Each Soldier to carry his Knapsack

"Article 7th Ensign Barrett shall be permitted to return home with his family & the regimental books, on giving his parole to Major Carleton

"JOHN CHIPMAN, Capt Com^d 2^d Battalion.

"JAMES KIRKMAN, Lt. 29th Regt.

"WM JOHNSTON, Lt. 47th Regt.

"CH^r CARLTON, Major 29th Regt, &., &., &."

("Almon's Remembrancer," 1781, p. 81.)

To this may properly be added the return of the killed, wounded, and prisoners taken at Forts Ann and George, the 10th and 11th of October, 1780: "Killed, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 23 privates.—Wounded, 1 Lieutenant, one private.—Prisoners, 2 captains, 2 Lieutenants, 114 privates."

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The English loss is given as follows:

"Return of the Killed and wounded of the detachment under the command of Major Carleton, the 11th of October, 1780.

"34th regiment, 1 private Killed, 1 Sergeant and 1 private wounded.—King's rangers, 1 private Killed.—Major Jessop's corps, 1 private wounded.—Indians, 1 Killed, 1 wounded." (*Ibid*, p. 82.)

To make the documentary portion of our story complete, we must add some extracts from the correspondence of Col. Gansevoort with Major Carleton. The former says:

"A certain James Van Deusen, who deserted from our service to you, and who, since you were on this side of the lake, has stolen back into the country, has been apprehended, & will suffer death as a deserter. He confesses that after the rencontre near Fort George, with some of Col. Warner's men and your party, in which one of the Indians was Killed, your Indians, in cold blood, Scalped one of Warner's men alive, tormented him a considerable time, & afterwards cut his throat—and all this in your presence."

To this Major Carleton replied:

"I should have expected Captain Chapnan [Chipman] would have given a flat contradiction to James Van Deusen's confession. No prisoner was scalped, or tortured alive. I saved the lives of several of the prisoners, who were neither stripped nor insulted in the smallest degree when the affair was over. I heard of one man being killed after he was taken during the firing, owing to a dispute between the two Indians, of different villages who had taken him. He was either a negro or a Stockbridge Indian I believe. & he would not suffer himself to be conducted to the British guard by a loyalist officer." (Stone's "Brant," Vol. II, p. 134.)

In regard to the manner in which the capture was accomplished, Governor Haldimand wrote, Oct. 25th, commending Major Carleton, saying: "The Secrecy and despatch with which this detachment penetrated, prevented any opposition of consequence on the part of the enemy; and on the 10th and 11th instant, the garrisons of Fort Ann & Fort George surrendered prisoners of war." ("London Gazette" in "Almon's Remembrancer," 1781, p. 81.)

It will be seen that Captain Chipman was expecting an enemy by the way of Lake George, but was misled, and that, after the capture of Fort Ann, he was not apprised of the fact. The information sent to others did not reach him.

Oct. 13th, Col. Malcom wrote to Gen. Van Rensselaer that "a very considerable body of the Enemy appeared on Tuesday at Fort Ann, which was instantly given up by Capt Sherwood. They came

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on to the river & burnt a number of houses about Fort Edward. Yesterday they returned towards Lake George." (Hough's "Northern Invasion," p. 93.)

The day previous, Stephen Lush, communicating with Governor Clinton, says "Colo Livingston writes, that his intelligence is, that Carleton with his party are now at Fort George, and are to be joined by a party from Ballstown under command of Sir John [Carleton]: and that he [Col. Livingston] means if he can, with safety to his post, march to the relief of Fort George." (*Ibid*, p. 90.)

But though there was considerable alarm, nothing was actually done to stay the progress of the invaders; and finally, Hall's "Poughkeepsie Journal," of Oct. 16, announced to the public:

"We hear from the northward, that a considerable body of British Troops, Indians and Tories from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain, have taken our posts at Fort George & Fort Ann, with the small garrison; and that the enemy are still burning & ravaging the country, in the neighborhood of Fort Edward."

Little blame can, on the whole, be thrown upon the commander at Fort George, especially as General Schuyler himself, writing the previous April, thought that the prospect of danger from the enemy was small.

Governor Clinton appears to have taken a very active part in the defence of this year, and May 29th was at Fort George, having come thus far in pursuit of Sir John Johnson's band of marauders. Yet, when the danger was really at hand, no adequate force was prepared to meet it, and thus fort George fell, the English invaders, on the whole, earning the commendation that General Haldimand bestowed.

In regard to the disposition of the garrison of Fort George, we find that, on Oct. 17th, 1780, Capt. Sherwood wrote to Colonel Henry Livingston, from on board the Carleton, "Major Chipman is also prisoner here with about forty men from Fort George."

There are various documents which show the measures taken to effect the liberation of their prisoners, but they are not of sufficient interest to quote here.

During the following winter both the English and the Americans appear to have been in a poor condition to resume hostilities. Though the former had withdrawn to the north, the latter had no heart to advance their lines, and had no force northward of Saratoga. The main line appears to have rested parallel to the Mohawk River. Thus the cold season passed in quiet, and the deserted ramparts of Fort George were left undisturbed.

Yet the people of the entire region lived in continual fear. Though the lakes were frozen, and the routes of travel were buried in snow, they knew that the spring would come upon them, unfettering the easily-navigated waters, and flinging wide all the gates. Therefore, on

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January 23, 1781, Joseph McCracken, in behalf of the people of White Creek, addressed the Legislature of New York, saying that the march of Burgoyne left the region of Skenesboro' ruined, while the capture of Forts Ann and George, together with the ravages in Kingsbury and Queensbury, left the people to conclude that the British were bent upon their destruction. Moreover, the people had been kept "so long under arms" that they had been obliged to neglect their crops, and, unless immediate relief was given, they would withdraw altogether from that part of the country.

The Legislature, however, was poorly qualified to afford them any special aid, and if anything was done in response to this appeal, the record does not remain.

But, as the season advanced, the situation became invested with new complications, and the people of New York found that they might any day be obliged to contend with an enemy from Vermont, whose people had worked themselves up into a high state of excitement, in consequence of what they considered the aggressions of the government of Albany.

Moreover, the leaders of the people in Vermont were engaged in a system of double dealing; and, while representing themselves as friendly to the union of the States, and ardently desirous of an American victory, were, at the same time, carrying on secret negotiations with the British. And whatever may have been the real designs of these men, it is clear that they managed all their negotiations in such a way as to be ready to drop either party at any moment when it might serve their purpose.

It is true that they cordially hated both the British and the people of New York, and yet the more intense dislike appears to have been reserved for their foes of the common American household. Ethan Allen probably reflected the spirit of the leaders; and what he thought we may gather from a letter written by General Schuyler, at Saratoga, May 19, 1781. He says:

"Yesterday Major McCracken was with me and informed me that Ethan Allen had some days ago been at White Creek attempting to seduce the inhabitants from their allegiance to the State, that in conversation with him, he asked what part the Grants would take in case the enemy attempted to penetrate into the country. Allen replied that he would neither give nor take any assistance from New York." ("Clinton Papers," No. 3729.)

And, while this state of things continued, a transaction occurred which is of interest at this time, chiefly for the reason that it relates to the history of Fort George, the subject now under consideration.

We find that, on April 16th, Governor Clinton wrote to General Schuyler ("Clinton Papers," No. 3632) in regard to the secret negotiations of the leaders in Vermont, and inclosed a letter on the subject from General Washington. In regard to Harris and Fish, who are

on to the river & burnt a number of houses about Fort Edward. Yesterday they returned towards Lake George." (Hough's "Northern Invasion," p. 93.)

The day previous, Stephen Lush, communicating with Governor Clinton, says "Col^o Livingston writes, that his intelligence is, that Carleton with his party are now at Fort George, and are to be joined by a party from Ballstown under command of Sir John [Carleton]: and that he [Col. Livingston] means if he can, with safety to his post, march to the relief of Fort George." (*Ibid*, p. 90.)

But though there was considerable alarm, nothing was actually done to stay the progress of the invaders; and finally, Hall's "Poughkeepsie Journal," of Oct. 16, announced to the public:

"We hear from the northward, that a considerable body of British Troops, Indians and Tories from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain, have taken our posts at Fort George & Fort Ann, with the small garrison; and that the enemy are still burning & ravaging the country, in the neighborhood of Fort Edward."

Little blame can, on the whole, be thrown upon the commander at Fort George, especially as General Schuyler himself, writing the previous April, thought that the prospect of danger from the enemy was small.

Governor Clinton appears to have taken a very active part in the defence of this year, and May 29th was at Fort George, having come thus far in pursuit of Sir John Johnson's band of marauders. Yet, when the danger was really at hand, no adequate force was prepared to meet it, and thus Fort George fell, the English invaders, on the whole, earning the commendation that General Haldimand bestowed.

In regard to the disposition of the garrison of Fort George, we find that, on Oct. 17th, 1780, Capt. Sherwood wrote to Colonel Henry Livingston, from on board the Carleton, "Major Chipman is also prisoner here with about forty men from Fort George."

There are various documents which show the measures taken to effect the liberation of their prisoners, but they are not of sufficient interest to quote here.

During the following winter both the English and the Americans appear to have been in a poor condition to resume hostilities. Though the former had withdrawn to the north, the latter had no heart to advance their lines, and had no force northward of Saratoga. The main line appears to have rested parallel to the Mohawk River. Thus the cold season passed in quiet, and the deserted ramparts of Fort George were left undisturbed.

Yet the people of the entire region lived in continual fear. Though the lakes were frozen, and the routes of travel were buried in snow, they knew that the spring would come upon them, unfettering the easily-navigated waters, and flinging wide all the gates. Therefore, on

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January 23, 1781, Joseph McCracken, in behalf of the people of White Creek, addressed the Legislature of New York, saying that the march of Burgoyne left the region of Skenesboro' ruined, while the capture of Forts Ann and George, together with the ravages in Kingsbury and Queensbury, left the people to conclude that the British were bent upon their destruction. Moreover, the people had been kept "so long under arms" that they had been obliged to neglect their crops, and, unless immediate relief was given, they would withdraw altogether from that part of the country.

The Legislature, however, was poorly qualified to afford them any special aid, and if anything was done in response to this appeal, the record does not remain.

But, as the season advanced, the situation became invested with new complications, and the people of New York found that they might any day be obliged to contend with an enemy from Vermont, whose people had worked themselves up into a high state of excitement, in consequence of what they considered the aggressions of the government of Albany.

Moreover, the leaders of the people in Vermont were engaged in a system of double dealing; and, while representing themselves as friendly to the union of the States, and ardently desirous of an American victory, were, at the same time, carrying on secret negotiations with the British. And whatever may have been the real designs of these men, it is clear that they managed all their negotiations in such a way as to be ready to drop either party at any moment when it might serve their purpose.

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mentioned therein, he says that he has "some reason to believe that they may both be confided in."

The letter of Washington, which does not appear in his published "Works," edited by Sparks, runs as follows, excepting one paragraph, which has no bearing upon the subject before us:

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR 15. *April 1781.*

"DEAR SIR

"The bearer Mr Fish of Saratoga district came to me this morning, with the intelligence of which the inclosed is a copy. How he obtained it from one Harris, he will inform your Excellency. Harris, whose character perhaps your Excellency may be acquainted with, is to meet the party under Ensign Smith the 20th of this month—is to convey a packet to Albany and to carry another back to them. He proposed to Fish to seize him at a place to be agreed upon and to take the letters from him. But I think a better way would be to let him carry the letters and answers in the first instance to General Schuyler, who might contrive means of opening them without breaking the seal, take copies of the contents, and then let them go on. By this means we should become masters of the whole plot, whereas, were we to seize Harris upon his first tour, we should break up the chain of communication, which seems providentially so thrown into our hands. Should your Excellency approve the measures which I have suggested, you will be pleased to write to Gen^l Schuyler upon the subject, and desire him, should business call him from Albany, to leave the conduct of the affair in proper hands in his absence. I have promised Fish that both he and Harris shall be handsomely rewarded if they execute the business with fidelity.

* * * * *

"With the highest Respect and

"Esteem I am

"Y^r Excellency

"Most o' Sert.

"G. WASHINGTON."

("Clinton Papers," No. 3633.)

The communication referred to is to the following effect:

"(Copy)

March 29. 81

"Being on the frontier in the neighborhood of Skenesborough on the 16th instant and being taken to be a tory were introduced to a party of the Enemy from Canada as commanded by Ensign Thos Smith late of Albany and David Higginbottom, Caleb Closen and Andrew Rukeley the whole four in number come on to a plot to destroy the independence of this and other States, it not being possible for me to betray them in safety concluded it best to act the hypocrite for once and succeeded so far as to draw from them that the grants had capitulated privately to lay down their arms on the approach of the British, which

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is to be done early this spring, when the British are to proceed to Fort George and take possession and fortify on Gages Hill,* for what purpose they now have their boats and shipping ready framed at St Johns and other places, to bring and put into Lake George with all other preparations, even their pickets to fortify the above post with. I further learned that their strength consists in eight thousand troops and Loyalists, and many in the State of New York were concerned, gentle & simple, not only on the frontier, but throughout

"From the M at Evening

"to the 22."

("Clinton Papers," No. 3633.)

What was the result of the foregoing transaction it is impossible to say. Possibly the men were well-meaning babblers, excited by the prospect of reward. As regards General Schuyler, however, he ultimately came to the conclusion that the leaders of Vermont, instead of plotting against the American cause, were engaged in the equally dangerous and dishonorable part of deceiving the authorities of Great Britain.† Nevertheless, he continued to watch the Vermonters, and, on May 4, 1781, he wrote to Governor Clinton that he intended to make a full examination of the subject.

* For a reference to this, see note on Fort Gage, at page 6. The author does not remember having seen any other allusion to "Gage's Hill" in the many contemporaneous manuscripts that he has examined. Beyond doubt, the hill referred to is that which afforded the site of the old fort, called "Fort Gage."

† The author here desires to express no opinion in regard to the real intentions of Vermont, as represented by her leaders. Nevertheless, the regret may be expressed that any should attempt to justify what they claim to be the precise intentions of those men. There is something that is worth more than immunity from temporary inconvenience, and which can never compensate for the loss of good faith between nations, as also between man and man.





CHAPTER VIII.



WRITING to Governor Clinton, May 4, 1781, having his attention all the while closely given to the movements on the Grants, Gen. Schuyler says :

"That the enemy intend to take post more to the south than were [*sic*] they are at present, I really believe, but I cannot imagine that they mean permanently to do it on this side of Lake George ;—should they fortify there at present it must evidently be with a design to take advantage of any movement of Sir Henry Clinton. A few days ago I advised General [James] Clinton that some of the British ships were arrived at Crown Point."

In the same letter he also says :

"The garrison here has been ten days without any meat, except what they procure by marauding, every eatable animal in this part of the country is already expended. Not a single scout can be kept out and I fear that Harris's last account will speedily be verified, and that a great majority of the troops here will go off to the enemy, (they may move leisurely to Fort George or Skenesborough and be there received into the enemies' boats) unless provision is instantly procured for them." ("Clinton Papers," No. 3691.)

At this time the condition of affairs on the frontiers of New York was truly deplorable. North of Saratoga, in the region of Lake George, the people were without defence, it being impossible to maintain a force at so distant a locality as Fort George.

In the meanwhile, the deplorable dissensions with Vermont grew apace, and frequent appeals were made to violence, so that troops were urgently needed for the protection of the citizens against the Green Mountain desperadoes. Happily, therefore, the British did not advance far on the lakes. Nevertheless, the summer air was thick with rumors,

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and the British were ever "coming." At last the imaginations of the inhabitants took on the form of the following communication from General Stark:

"HEAD QUARTERS
"HALF PAST 6 O'CK SARATOGA
"11th Octbr 1781

"DEAR SIR

"By Information this moment receid I am Informed that the Enemy are now in reality on this side of Lake George. for Gods sake hurry on with all the Force you can collect as perhaps this may be the Last Information I can give you until they are in reality here I can Give no Information of their Force but we must be prepared for the Worst.

"I am Dear Sir you

"very Huml Servt.

JOHN STARKE.

"B. GENL GANSEVORT."

("Clinton Papers," No. 4060.)

The next day, October 12, General Schuyler followed up Stark, in a letter to Governor Clinton, saying:

"This moment I received an express from Gen: Stark advising me that the Enemy had landed between Lake George & Saratoga." ("Clinton Papers," No. 4064.)

Governor Clinton immediately ordered General Rensselaer to be in readiness to march with his brigade; and, meanwhile, the alarm was spread abroad in print; for the "New York Journal," giving the Fish-kill news of October 18, 1781, says:

"Accounts from the northward, give us strong indications of a hostile visit in that quarter. It is said that they have advanced to the South End of Lake George, in some force, but their numbers not ascertained . . . Energetic measures are taking by the militia in that vicinity; a brigade of regular troops, part of which are already at Albany, passed through this town last Monday, on their way to Fish-Kill Landing, and there to embark on board of vessels to carry them up."

But the old cry of "Wolf!" did not, at least in this particular region, again meet its traditional reward; and, October 26th, General Heath wrote to Governor Clinton, from Continental Village, saying

"It is really surprising that accounts from the northward are so vague and uncertain—At one time the Enemy are beyond the lakes,—at another between them, and sometimes it is not known where they are." ("Clinton Papers," No. 4097.)

On the same day, October 26, the Assembly of New York, in an address to Governor Clinton, in which they said:

"It gives as great satisfaction to find that, notwithstanding the Extent of our frontier Settlements and the desultory War, carried on by a barbarous Enemy, fewer depredation have been committed than we had Reason to apprehend; Attributable, under God, to the Vigilance and activity of the Forces Stationed for their Protection, and with you, we confide that the regular Troops and Levies lately detached for their Defence, will be sufficient to repel the threatened Invasion of the Enemy.

"Permit us, Sir, to express the high Sense we entertain of your judicious Arrangements of our State Troops, and of the distinguished Exertions, which have on every Occasion, been made by your Excellency, to defend the Frontiers against the hostile attacks of our merciless Enemies." (*"Journal of Assembly," 1781, p. 9.*)

Yet their applause had hardly died away when the enemy actually appeared; and the *"New York Packet,"* of November 1, reported truly that a party of British, under Major Ross, had come down Oneida Lake, burning dwellings and committing depredations, afterwards crossing the Mohawk River. Colonel Willett met them, however, and secured a decided victory.

November 3d, a second victory was reported as achieved by the same officer. From the *"New Jersey Journal,"* of November 21, 1781, we learn that the commanding general at Poughkeepsie, issued an order recognizing the victory of Colonel Willett, and saying:

"The General has the pleasure of acquainting this army, that the enemy have been completely disappointed in their designs on the northern frontiers of this state, in consequence of the measures adopted to receive them in the vicinity of the Lakes * * * * That part of their force which was to proceed over the Lakes, has not dared to land on this side."*

In all these operations Fort George made no figure, as neither party found it advisable to throw forces forward to such an undesirable point; and, when winter came again, the position was hemmed in by the ice and snow.

With the return of spring (1782), the enemy, now disheartened by the reverses sustained in the South, made no effort to renew hostilities; and the people on the border of New York were quite as much in fear of the Vermonters as of anything. Yet, in the autumn, the alarm was sounded, and, in October, Jacob Bayley wrote to Governor Clinton, from Mowbury, as follows:

"Ten days ago I had intelligence which I depended upon from St. Johns that the enemy were moving in force up Lake Champlain that an Expedition [would go] Southward from that place, the Tenth of Oc-

* The full report of Willett may be seen in the *"New Jersey Journal,"* November 28, 1781.

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tober, also that a force was going by the way of Oswego *** The enemy will try to destroy Albany and Establish Vermont this season as well as to support Vermont in opposition to Congress *** I lay on my arms night and day being in Danger both from Britton and Vermont."

In a postscript, he adds :

"this minute I have Certain Inteligonce that the Enemy are Determined to Destroy Albany this fall that Vermont will make a great noies by calling in the militia &c but you may depend it will not be to oppose the Enemy but to Deceive the populous and prevent the militia from assisting you." ("N. Y. State Legislative Papers," MS.)

Thus, we have another illustration of the declaration of Ethan Allen, already quoted, that he would neither give nor take aid from New York.

Yet, notwithstanding all these threatening appearances, a peaceable solution of the Vermont difficulties was reached, while the return to friendly relations with the mother country extinguished the prospect of foreign invasion, and left Fort George in the wilderness, a forgotten relic of the past.

After its surrender by Captain Chipman, in 1780, it does not appear that Fort George was ever of any real practical use, or even that it possessed a garrison. Occasionally it may have furnished a refuge for raiders, and lodgings for the strolling scouts; but a position selected originally with so little judgment, and fortified with such limited strength, must of necessity find its level in the estimate of military men, by whom it was ultimately abandoned as a post which it was not worth while to keep. In the War of 1812 it was not thought of.

But, though the military authorities lost all interest in the locality, civilians were fully alive in regard to the financial importance of the entire region. While of very moderate agricultural value, it possessed forests of no mean worth; and, besides, Lake St. Sacrament still possessed its advantages as a route of travel for passengers bound to Canada. Accordingly, many old soldiers who had served in the campaigns around the lake, and consequently had claims upon their country, remembered the sites of their former watch-fires, and petitioned for grants of land, as was also done by many of the survivors of the French war previous to the outbreak of the Revolution. When hostilities with England ceased, among other petitions laid before the authorities was the following:

"The Petition of Jonathan Pitcher, Gurdon Chamberlin, Wyatt Chamberlin and Isaac Doty residing on a Tract of Land at the South End of Lake George commonly called Garrison-Land, humbly sheweth; That Your Petitioners, some time since, being desirous to emigrate from the Old Settlements and to fix ourselves on the Frontier of the State, did obtain, from the Surveyor Gen^l of the State, Leases of the Lands whereon we now reside, which Leases being only for the Term of One Year induceth us to address Your Hon'ble Body on the Sub-

ject—Your Petitioners having removed our families to this place at great Expence from a very considerable distance, ardently wish to continue on the same, and do, most humbly pray that our Leases may be renewed for as long a Term of time as your Hon'ble Body shall deem most eligible; or that any other mode may be adopted whereby your petitioners may be allowed to occupy the premises.

"LAKE GEORGE Dec. 30 1783."

("New York Legislative Papers," MS.)

December 19, 1784, Jacobus Van Schoonhoven and Gerardus Clute, of Half Moon, say in their petition to the Legislature :

"That your Petitioners are desirous of accepting a Lease from the State of the Landing Place at Fort George and fifty acres of meadow land adjoining the Same—as also the Exclusive right of Ferriage from said landing to Ticonderoga—also the sole Exclusive privilege of Keeping a Tavern at the Same Landing insomuch that no other person is to be permitted to keep a tavern within the distance of half a mile from Said Landing. That your petitioners propose and are willing to enter into a Covenant for erecting a House & Barn and a sufficient number of Ferry Boats for the purpose aforesaid."*

February following, William Cobb and Lyman Hitchcock made a similar request, though apparently with poor results. Eventually the greater portion of the land in this vicinity was granted to James Caldwell, and the town which sprang up at the end of Lake George took the proprietor's name, which it still bears.

In course of time the shores of this beautiful lake possesssd quite a numerous population; and the number of the inhabitants is now slowly increasing year by year, many of whom are attracted by the romantic recollections of the place, and the rare beauty of the scenery, which, whatever may be the changes that are to come, can never lose its inef-fable charm.

But the student of History may always enjoy a twofold pleasure in visiting and lingering around the site of Old Fort George. The flippant tourist who visits the lake as an act of fashionable propriety

* Connected with the petition of those wanting lands and other emoluments, is one bearing date of January 4, 1784, from Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cochran, of "the Second New York Regiment of foot in the Service of the United States," who "Humbly sheweth" to the "people of the State of New York in Senate and Assembly convened,"

"That very shortly after the commencement of Hostilities by the British Troops, your Petitioner at the head of a small party of Volunteers, and at the evident Risk and Hazard of his Life attacked and carried with the British Garrisons at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, by which fortunate and unexpected Event a very considerable quantity of heavy artillery and military stores were secured for the use of the United States, as many of the members of this Honorable House now present can attest." ("N. York Legislative Papers," MS.)

This statement is, of course, about as trustworthy as that by Ethan Allen, who likewise professed that he was "at the head" of this same "small party," and who claimed the exclusive glory of the capture of Ticonderoga.

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will, indeed, hardly appreciate the feelings of the intelligent antiquary who seeks to make himself familiar with each storied site. The forces engaged around the lake were trivial compared with the armies that have since done battle to maintain the Independence which was in northern New York, at the outset, so largely achieved. Then, as regards Fort George itself, we might have dismissed the subject with a few words, saying that there never *was* any Fort George, since the structure that bore the name was simply the bastion of an *intended* fortification. But here the interest does not depend upon numbers and architecture. In a historical point of view, the strength of an army is of little more concern than the stature of its commander. It is the *morale* of the struggle that chiefly excites reflection. At least the antiquary finds it so at Fort George, where he hears no story of numbers, and is not impressed, as is some times the case at Ticonderoga, by the extent of the military remains. Only one insignificant ruin is now found on the old grounds at the head of the lake for which kings contended through many long years. So obscure is the site, that those who go rapidly over the route often do not see it at all; while others confound the ruins of Fort George with the remains of an ancient lime-kiln that lie, an almost undistinguishable heap, near by. But the site is, nevertheless, readily discovered, and, in approaching the lake from Glen's Falls, it will be found on the right of the ancient military road, embowered among the hemlocks and pines. The sally-port is gone, and the rudely-built walls are crumbling to their fall. Plants and creepers in many places hold together the loose stones laid by tired hands that long since found rest. Within the inclosure, sheep browse among the mullein stalks, and the tinkling of the cow-bell floats out from among the trees, falling musically upon the ear. It is a quiet place, indeed. Fort George has known its last alarm, and fired its last gun. On a mild summer day, everything is bathed in the atmosphere of peace, which is only intensified by the glimpse of the sleeping Lake St. Sacrament, which, from the ramparts, may be seen through the sun-smitten haze. Here the antiquary may generally meditate undisturbed; though occasionally the silence will be invaded by some solitary visitor like himself, or by some noisy troop of young tourists from the hotel, who rush suddenly from out the wood, and, with shut sun-shades and umbrellas, charge, in mimic war, and with a merry shout, upon the defenseless walls of Fort George. But, anon, the enemy retreats, when he is left again to dwell at leisure upon his historical notes, to identify the localities, and recall the great memories of ambitious England, in connection with the struggles of proud but dreaming France. Yet, as regards the dreams of France, they were not altogether baseless. While, in the nature of things, it was hardly possible, under ordinary circumstances, for descendants of the effete Latin race to become the rulers of the New World, yet, at one time, French ambition seemed almost on the point of realization. And it is, therefore, worth while here to remember the fact, that, in connection with Fort George, the movement

was begun which was destined to end in the complete demolition of the French power in America. And more ; the founding of Fort George was the *initiator act* in Amherst's campaign, during which the tide of French prosperity turned, and the French themselves were driven from the beautiful lake to which they originally gave the name. When Montrossor laid out the plan of the work, he in reality inaugurated the Anglo-American success that led the way for the establishment of the Great Republic. Therefore, however little we may owe to the strength of the structure itself, its connection with American Independence is every way deeply interesting. This circumstance alone will justify the antiquary in the bestowal of much study upon the history of these venerable ruins, which at no distant period are destined to pass entirely away.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



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Resplendent Rose, the flower of flowers,
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Whose virgin blush of chastened dye,
Enchants so much our mortal eye.
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It is related of Johnson, by his pleasant biographer, that he said "he loved the old black letter books: they were rich in matter, though their style was inelegant." Deeper read in the earlier writers than the great moralist, an erudite antiquary of our own day observes, that "with respect to what is often absurdly designated black letter learning, the taste which prevails in the present times for this sort of reading, wherever true scholarship and a laudable curiosity are found united, will afford the best reply to the hypercriticisms and impotent sarcasms of those who, having from indolence or ignorance neglected to cultivate so rich a field of knowledge, exert the whole of their endeavors to depreciate its value." The truth of this has been subsequently attested by the popularity of the author of "Waverley," who, aided by ancient lore, imparts to his scenes and portraits of other times the truth and high finish of Gerard Dow and Denner, and the dignity and grace of Titian and Vandyke. The pupal hierarchy, from accident, fanaticism and policy, pursued too often a sordid plan of forcing mankind to become technical automatons of rites and dreams, of words and superstitions: and supporting a system which, if not originally framed, was at least applied to enforce a long continued exertion of transferring the world into the hands of ecclesiastics, and too often superseding the Christianity of the Gospels by that of tradition, policy, half delirious bigotry, feelings often fantastic and unenlightened enthusiasm. Until the time of Luther religion was regarded as an art: it was the occupation of the clergy, who taught it as a mystery, and practised it as a trade. From the manifold corruptions of religion resulted the gross practices and delusions which are noticed in Mr. Hone's work, which he compiled with much painstaking perseverance from MSS. and black letter books in the British Museum. It is a collection of facts, not inferences. It commences with the Coventry Mysteries, mentioned by Dugdale in his "History of Warwickshire," published in 1656. The volume is a companion and necessary supplement to the "Apocryphal New Testament," and a most curious, instructive and interesting volume it is.

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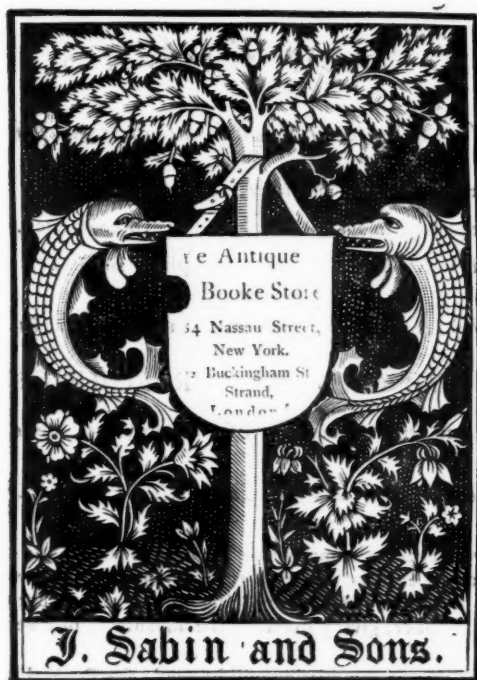
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